NATIONAL GUARDIAN
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Well, it really was fun while it lasted

This moving scene may be goodbye for both parties: U. S. Ambassador Clare Luce and Italian Premier Scelba. Mrs. Luce, some say, is coming to Washington to ride Mrs. Hobby's horse as Secy. of Not-Too-Much Health, Education and Welfare (others deny it); and Scelba is reputedly heading for the glue factory.

WAR & PEACE

How the Soviet-Yugoslav talks came about — and what they mean for U.S.

By Tabitha Petran

AS THE GREAT POWERS maneuver for position in anticipation of East-West talks this summer, the U. S. S. R.'s "peace drive" everywhere commands the attention of the Western world. As the N. Y. **Times** (5/29) pointed out, Moscow has already broken the deadlock on the Austrian treaty, reopened the question of disarmament, suggested new approaches to the problem of Germany and

". . . the new diplomatic chapter was only beginning. There was no question in western capitals that the Russians had many cards up their sleeves."

The most common Western explanation of current Soviet diplomacy was the alleged "economic weakness" of the U. S. S. R., but more sober comment warned against such a serious misreading of the situation. Soviet policy, wrote Walter Lippmann (5/19), rests "on a new appraisal of a worldwide tide of popular feeling," and in "reaching out for the support of the masses of mankind who want to disengage themselves from nuclear warfare" is

Carrefour, Paris

"I don't know why, but in diplomatic bombs, the Russians seem far ahead of us."

acquiring "new and very popular strength." The U. S. S. R.'s "new line of extreme interest and complexity" is designed "to meet changing facts," said Britain's Edward Crankshaw (N. Y. **Herald Tribune,** 5/29), and has prevented the "final division of Europe into two rigid blocs under the impact of the Paris agreements."

The present flexibility of the U. S. S. R.'s policy is made possible, as the GUARDIAN pointed out (5/16), by the continuing shift in the balance of power in favor of the socialist world.

EYES ON BELGRADE: The changed and changing nature of today's world was most dramatically revealed, perhaps, in Belgrade. Arriving there with a top-level Soviet mission, Soviet Communist Party Secy. Khrushchev voiced the U. S. S. R.'s readiness "to do everything" to patch up its rift with Yugoslavia. He placed responsibility for the socialist world's 1948 break with Marshal Tito on

". . . the provocative role that Beria, Abakumov and others—recently exposed enemies of the people—played

(Continued on Page 3)

EDITOR REMAINS IN PRISON

Belfrage bail plea heard in Appeals Court June 6

THE FIGHT TO KEEP GUARDIAN's editor Cedric Belfrage in the U. S. and free to do his job, was largely a lawyers' battle last week. The case was working its way through two courts.

Federal District Court Judge Archie O. Dawson was considering lawyers' briefs filed with him May 24 asking that the deportation order against Belfrage be invalidated since the Immigration Dept. had failed to show that he was deportable and had denied him due process of law.

It was Judge Dawson who earlier had denied Belfrage bail pending a review of the deportation order. If Judge Dawson rules against Belfrage again lawyers are prepared to take the case up the ladder to the Federal Court of Appeals.

THE SILENT PRESS: The question of bail, which Appeals Court Judge Harold Medina declined to grant last week, is to come before the full Court of Appeals on Monday, June 6.

Belfrage hearing open

New Yorkers interested in the battle for Belfrage's freedom can show up where friendly faces count the most: at the appeal for bail before the Circuit Court of Appeals, Federal Court House, Foley Square, 10 a.m., Monday, June 6.

While the courts considered his lawyers' briefs, Belfrage began his third week in the West St. House of Detention, a prisoner without a charge against him, the only deportation detainee in the country to be denied bail.

The nation's press, for the most part, ignored the case, voiced no editorial protest although the one official reason given for Belfrage's jailing is that he is "actively engaged in advocating policies which we think involve national security."

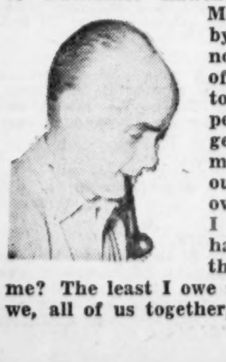
At the time of his arrest on May 13 Belfrage was actively engaged only in editing the GUARDIAN. It is his freedom to edit that is at stake.

CEDRIC BELFRAGE WRITES FROM PRISON

How about a good blow from all hands?

GUARDIAN exec. editor James Aronson last week received a letter from Cedric Belfrage written in the West St. Federal Detention House. It is too fine a document not to be shared with the whole GUARDIAN family. The letter follows:

AFTER NEARLY TWO WEEKS here it is difficult to write anything worth reading, although my head is more than usually clear and my morale never better. The former I owe largely to Nathaniel Hawthorne, Charlotte Bronte, Olive Schreiner, Meridel Le Sueur and Simon Bolivar, books by or about whom I have been reading—not "to pass the time" but as a very feast of good books of which the GUARDIAN editorship, with its irreducible mountain of periodicals and correspondence to be digested, has for years deprived me. The morale, of course, is due to the support of our lion-hearted GUARDIAN readers all over the country, the expressions of which I am not allowed to see but about which I have been told. . . . How can I convey to them what their faith and courage mean to me? The least I owe to them is some solid token of hope that we, all of us together, can win this fight. . . .



But the fight is now a tournament of words in solemn courtrooms and "chambers," between one team with the weapon of truth and another parrying with prevarications and thrusting with split hairs. In the midst of the fray—or not even in the midst of it, for I may never again even be undressed, re-dressed and escorted to court—I am but a body, the corpus that our side would habeas and the other side would push out to sea. There is nothing further that I can do, unless there is such a thing as fighting by telepathy. The issue is in the hands of my beloved, undauntable lawyers (I think I'm the only man in this establishment who loves his lawyers)—and of whatever friends the GUARDIAN has been able to make over these seven years.

I know that if any group in America can tackle the impossible and win, as Bolivar did to free his people from the Spanish lounge lizards, our Guardian Angels can. They may be few, but isn't it so that "we two are a multitude?" The lizards of today are not super-natural giants; their armor, made of petty hatred, is full of holes and a healthy gust of wind will blow their split hairs back against their own breasts.

HOW ABOUT A GOOD BLOW (as we would say in a Report to Readers) from all hands? Progressive Americans do not

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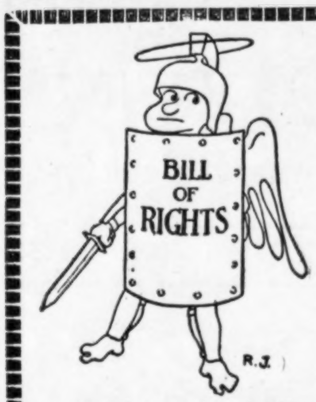

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THE MAIL BAG

"Vulgar . . . intolerant"

NEW YORK, N.Y.

An observation by a learned man says that "Abuse is the weapon of the vulgar." To which one may add that it is also the weapon of the intolerant.

A shocking demonstration of the accuracy of those statements is being provided by the vulgarity and intolerance manifested by the deportation proceedings against the distinguished editor, Cedric Belfrage.

A. Garcia Diaz

The good broom

NO. LAS VEGAS, NEV.

To those so-called Christians who carry a Bible in one hand and A- or H-bombs in the other, Christ would say: "Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites; for ye compass land and sea to make one proselyte; and when he is made ye make him two fold more the child of Hell than yourselves."

I think the poet had something when he wrote, "Onward, onward, onward ever! Human progress none may stay. All who make the vain endeavor shall like chaff be swept away."

The GUARDIAN is a good broom in this cause.

Della E. Lonnen

John Wood's career

NEW YORK, N.Y.

It is not always easy to see clearly the objectives of the enemies of American democracy. They attack its magnificent Bill of Rights and the blood-won 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution, which formally give to black Americans the protection of this people's mandate. But it is my belief that the appointment of John S. Wood to the Subversive Activities Control Board should open wider the eyes of the most non-political of Americans.

John S. Wood was for years a member of the House from Georgia. He was often charged with being a Klansman. He consistently voted against anti-lynch, anti-poll-tax legislation, a forceful FEPC, and as consistently voted for anti-labor legislation.

Wood came to be the Chairman of the Un-American Activities Committee. By then he had not only defended the Columbians, a Georgia terrorist group organized for the purpose of forcibly preventing Negroes from voting or protesting Jim Crow and segregation, but it was said that he helped organize this fascist-like mob. Pressure from radicals, so-called, forced the question of an investigation of the Klan as a subversive and un-American outfit by Wood's committee. Wood defended that avowed group of Catholic, Jew and Negro haters. He said, as reported by Drew Pearson, that the Klan's murderous antics were no worse than the "drinking of illegal whiskey." Shades of Harry T. Moore!

Now President Eisenhower has named this man to a Board supposedly constituted for the purpose of ending subversion. So far, only those organizations defending the Constitutional rights of Negroes, labor, Communists, peace, the foreign born, have been called before this body. The Civil Rights Congress, which I have the honor to lead, is before this group as a subversive organization. Already, its racial prejudices have been made manifest through an insult thrown at me. What will the Committee be with Wood upon it?

Yet, I was the only Negro who appeared personally to protest the confirmation of Wood before the Senate Judiciary Committee. Of course, the press took no notice of that fact. The NAACP with its great struggle on the school desegregation is menaced by Wood's elevation. So too, is the Elks, the Urban League, and every progressive group. I believe that you should call for greater sensitivity and more protest actions in such matters.

William L. Patterson
Natl. Exec. Secy., CRC

How crazy can you get dept.

(Divn. of Imbecility)

CHICAGO, May 17—Only an unusual "moronic or imbecilic" business man will fail to attain success under the conditions that will prevail in the next 25 years.

All manufacturers of consumer goods and services just HAVE to prosper, barring imbecility, according to Philip Hauser, professor of sociology and director of the population research and training center, University of Chicago.

He said that the only serious threat to our economy is peacetime.

Advertising Age, May 23.

One-year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: Anonymous, Los Angeles.

Thanks, North California

BERKELEY, CALIF.

Please say "Thank you!" for us to the scores of good people whose work made the San Francisco Guardian banquet on May 13 such a great success, including everyone there, throwing money into the collection baskets as though it were confetti (and believe me, we know that money was not easily come by in the first place.) Special thanks to the speakers, the entertainment, and to Sidney Roger, who knows best how to persuade people as to the very best use of their money in these times.

And of course (this is the high mark of success in these matters) all will be called on to do the same things next time.

Malvina Reynolds
For the Northern California Guardian Committee

Einstein's Americanism

SCAPPOOSE, ORE.

Einstein's familiarity with the laws of the Universe is probably unequaled. For his achievements in the realm of science eulogy is his due, but ought not to be overdone. We must not forget that illustrious American patriots, such as "Liz" Dilling, Martin Dies and John Parnell Thomas, kept his name at the top, or near the top of their un-American subversive lists. He was also held in disgrace by "Kid" Brownell, and President Eisenhower for his vehement opposition to the orphaning of the Rosenberg's children.

GOD BLESS OUR COUNTRY—if it isn't too late.

Vincent Noga

Human scrap heap

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Who shall speak for the older worker barred from earning a livelihood at 40 or younger? He is really the "forgotten man." We can give away billions to buy NATO and SEATO satellites to defend the "free world," but our own elder citizens can be free only when they enjoy the right and the equal opportunity to a job, to apply their ability and experience in earning the means to live decently.

This human scrap heap is mounting into the millions as selfish employers deny them jobs because of their age and our lawmakers shirk their responsibility to them. The least they can do is to shorten the starvation gap between 45 and 65 by lowering the Social Security retirement age to 60.

If ignored they will become the most powerful political lobby demanding the elementary right to survival.

Jeff Patrick

No white elephants

EL MONTE, CALIF.

What this country needs is a humor magazine of literary aspirations. I am a poverty-stricken elephant salesman ready to help launch it. Anyone else interested? All replies confidential. No drinkers, smokers or trombone players unless accompanied by an adult. All types of humor . . . story, essay poetry, cartoon.

Wallace Rena

The Bahai view

NEW YORK, N.Y.

This is to answer Marjorie Gross, who wrote in the Mail Bag: "Let readers save their pot-shots for the more ethereal kind [angels] which lulls men . . . into oblivion."

Anyone who refuses to believe in Angelic Beings can give no proof as to their non-existence whereas many have written and testified to their existence, including myself. Since it took "a great intelligence" (God) to create a universe, why limit His creation to humans only? Even us humans have produced remarkable things. How much more can the Creator produce including Angels and other remarkable beings.

Read the Bahai writings for details on this matter. It so happens that I am a member of Bahai but can also appreciate the good done by such a publication as the GUARDIAN.

Joseph T. Kuperberg

Dowling in Seattle Times

Fairy tale for posterity

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CEDRIC BELFRAGE WRITES

How about a good blow?

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have to debate whether they CAN do the impossible—they have often proved it in the past. All they have to decide is whether this particular body—not for itself but for what it may possibly symbolize in the general robbery of liberties—is worth the united effort necessary. On that point, in this time when so many potentially decisive battles call for reinforcements, I leave the decision to them all and will most freely and happily accept it, whatever it may be.

Anyway, don't scatter the shot; give battle wherever there is the best chance of meaningful victory. . . . My main thought is that I have been extraordinarily favored in these years of The Curtain, to be allowed and encouraged by the best people in the best of countries to do the kind of work I have done and striven to do well. The Guardian Angels have granted to me the privilege of spending every day of these years usefully—years in which so many who yearned to be useful have been condemned to the bitterness of toiling only to keep alive and to enrich parasites, whom they despise; years when so many yearning for peace have only been able to earn their keep by helping prepare for more slaughter.

For this privilege I am deeply grateful to the shining army of Guardian Angels. I hope and believe we can continue along this good road together. —CEDRIC BELFRAGE.

•

HOW ABOUT "a good blow"—or even three—for a man of such indomitable spirit and the things he believes in? There are three letters you can write:

1. To Attorney General Herbert Brownell urging him to grant bail to Belfrage and to quash the proceedings against him.

2. To the editor of your local newspaper asking him to publish the facts in the Belfrage case, and pointing out to him that the vindictive persecution of the GUARDIAN's editor is a clear violation of the freedom of the press.

3. To the GUARDIAN itself with a "stitch in time" to help us carry ont the Belfrage fight-back and keep on publishing a paper which brings you the truth each week. You probably have an envelope from us. Will you send it back today? —J. A.

THEY HAVE ALREADY STRUCK A BLOW

The stitch-in-timers come through!

TAUNTON, MASS.

You are truly a GUARDIAN of our freedom—one and all! I am a monthly contributor but am glad to send this $2 in addition.

(Mrs.) Persis Maran Yelle

•

NEW YORK, N.Y.

The spirit has moved me. You are very courageous people.

Irma Schneider

•

WHITE PLAINS, N.Y.

We need you! Stay alive.

G. S.-R.

•

PAHOKEE, FLA.

Years back I had a business in Texas. There was a farmer who always was late in coming to town, and a good many times waited until the stores were closed. Then he drove his old mule to the house where I lived and said: "You see, Boe, here I am. I hate to, but I had to."

Today Dulles feels the same way about making peace. ($5 enclosed).

R. E. Boe

•

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

As an apparent "unbudgeable" I want to explain. . . .

This $10 was being saved to buy plastic mattresses ($16 each) for our four kids who (all but the baby) sleep on doubled blankets on a link-spring army bunk. But we would rather spend the money to have the GUARDIAN available and start saving all over again for mattresses. (At least I would. How will I argue this one out with my husband? He calls such things "unilateral decisions." But I want to be positive you get it all—right now!)

Phyllis Gaman

•

CHICAGO, ILL.

Five dollars from a dollar-a-week "stitcher" with hopes that there are many more.

Edna E. Crum

•

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Here's an extra "stitch" from one of your monthly "Guardians." Hope you get enough of these to complete the entire "seam."

Sol Kashins

•

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Enclosed $10 to help keep you in stitches—or at least in good humor for the serious job you are doing so well.

Harry Gordon

•

ALEDO, ILL.

Perhaps the enclosed $5 will save five stitches.

Capt. Donald MacNeal

•

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

If there were many more Belfrages, this world, especially America, would be a better place to live in. Hoping this holds up your hands and gives you strength to fight back and win.

(Mrs.) Sara Behrman

•

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Please accept $1 from a reader who fully supports your vigorous stand against creeping fascization of American democracy and, in particular, the courageous fight of Cedric Belfrage to maintain basic human rights.

W. G.

•

BOSTON, MASS.

Your courage and fight, while others retreat, have been wonderful! Thanks a lot. ($2 enclosed).

A Friend

•

DUTCH VILLAGE, N.Y.

Regarding Mr. Belfrage's being arrested again—and in such a high-handed fashion—I feel a deep sense of indignation and a determination to help in this fight against the vicious despoilers of our American way of life. Also, there's a deep sense of gratitude in knowing there are men like Belfrage equal to the fight.

Yesterday I felt the need for a new dress, in which to attend my granddaughter's graduation from college this June 6, and I had set aside $25.

I now feel this sum should go to aid Mr. Belfrage's fight. Also, I pledge $5 a month for the next six months, little enough, I know, but at least it will suit me better than a new gown—or two!

M. D. I.

•

VENICE, CALIF.

I think I have always sent in my dollar a month, at least when I received one of the return envelopes, otherwise I would forget. I am nearly 77 years of age.

This small contribution ($5) is sent in the hope others will deny themselves and send in a like amount.

C. E. Steere

•

TRACY, CALIF.

Enclosed $2 in response to your May 16 appeal. I especially like your cartoons. They are in the lead for number of such and variety.

I. J. Jilbert

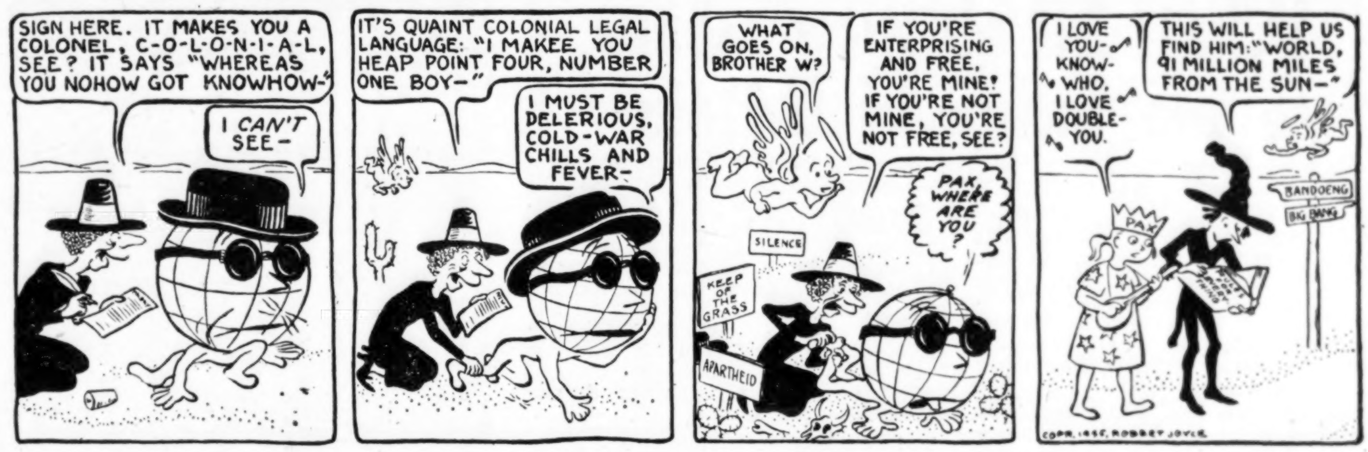
Richardson honored at reception June 10

The American Peace Crusade will hold a supper reception in honor of Thomas Richardson, natl. co-director of the Crusade, Fri., June 10, at 6 p.m., at Studio 6, the Nola Studios, 1657 Broadway (between 51 and 52), N.Y.C. Sponsors are Miss Karen Morley, Dr. Philip Morrison, Paul Robeson and Dr. Willard Uphaus.

Tribute will be paid to Richardson's contributions as a playwright, actor and theatre director, trade union leader and organizer in the fight for peace. There will be a varied program. The $2 subscription includes the supper.

THE GUARDIAN ANGEL

Brave, blue world



RAILROAD AND TELEPHONE

2 Southern strikes won; organizing drive is seen

DOWN SOUTH two big companies thought this was a good year for busting unions. They kicked off two of the biggest, longest, roughest and most bitter strikes ever waged in Dixieland. This month the strikers won both battles; the unions involved came out stronger than when they went in. The result: an upsurge in labor militancy below Mason and Dixon's Line and the likelihood that the coming 15,000,000-strong merged labor movement will put a massive Southern organizing drive on the top of its agenda.

Both strikes began March 14. The one conducted by ten non-operating AFL craft unions against the Louisville & Nashville Railroad was won May 20; the other, conducted by the CIO Communications Workers against the Southern Bell Telephone Co., officially ended May 24. The rail strike was the longest since 1922; the phone strike was the longest ever against any unit of the Bell system.

HONORABLE DOCUMENT: The phone strike followed 10 months of fruitless negotiations; it involved 50,000 workers in nine Southern states and affected a total of 1,043 exchanges in some 700 cities and towns. Main issues: company refusal to arbitrate disputes in return for a no-strike clause it demanded, and a refusal of the company to accept the right of workers to respect the bona fide picket lines of other craft workers in the industry. The contract signed on May 24 provided for arbitration of disputes, including those arising from disciplinary measures against employes, and the contractual right not to cross picket lines. In addition, wages were boosted from $1 to $4 a week, hours were reduced for various duty tours, and pay in 25 cities was upgraded.

The Bell company denied that the settlement was a union victory, but CWA southern director W. A. Smallwood called the agreement an "honorable document" and said:

> "The union's position was completely vindicated on the matters of principle involved in the no-strike clause and on arbitration. The issue through which the company was able to provoke the strike, the issue involving crossing picket lines, was a complete victory for the union's position."

RING THAT BELL: After ratification of the agreement by the membership, CWA president Joseph Beirne said in Washington it was a "victory of principle for telephone workers over the

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The Belgrade talks

(Continued from Page 1)

> in the relations between Yugoslavia and the U. S. S. R. . . . [and on] materials . . . fabricated by the enemies of the people, detestable agents of imperialism who by deceptive methods pushed their way into the ranks of our party."

High Yugoslav officials termed this explanation "ridiculous"; they found it impossible to believe that "one man and a handful of lieutenants could have deceived the whole Soviet government and the party" (**UP**, 5/2). Westerners, including many friendly to the U. S. S. R., are likely to agree: Khrushchev's explanation implies a carelessness on a crucial issue entirely out of keeping with Soviet practice.

HOW IT BEGAN: The new Soviet approach to Yugoslavia did not develop overnight; it appears to be part of a rather far-reaching design, with its origins in a changed world situation and in developments within Yugoslavia itself. The first open and serious step toward a Soviet-Yugoslav reconciliation came last October when the U. S. S. R. welcomed the Yugoslav-Italian agreement on Trieste as a contribution to peace. This stand was directly contrary to the line then being taken by the Communist party of Italy and Trieste. Shortly thereafter attacks on "Titoism" in the Communist press of Eastern and Western Europe ceased; in Yugoslavia persons imprisoned as pro-Soviet were reported being released.

These moves suggested that behind-the-scene talks were under way. This suggestion was reinforced by Italian CP leader Togliatti's May Day speech in Trieste; Soviet Defense Minister Zhukov's friendly remarks about Tito's war leadership; the reappearance in Belgrade of the Soviet Embassy's information bulletin, banned since 1948; Hungary's invitation to Yugoslavia for exchange visits of parliament deputies; establishment of China-Yugoslav diplomatic relations. **Newsweek** (5/30) said that Soviet-Yugoslav "preparatory talks" had been held in "complete secrecy—not only from the West but from Turkey, Yugoslavia's closest ally" and that Belgrade is still refusing to provide any information.

TITO ON A SPOT? Following announcement of the Soviet visit to Belgrade, **Pravda** (5/18) stressed "the identity of views of the two states" on "basic questions of foreign policy," and the "deep ideological community and common basic interests" between the "working and peasant classes" of the two countries, despite "fundamental differences in our understanding of a number of important problems of social development." Khrushchev's speech at the Belgrade airport—similarly emphasizing historic friendship, common revolutionary traditions—said it was a Soviet duty to

> ". . . do everything possible to establish mutual understanding between the Soviet Communist Party and the Yugoslav Communist League on the basis of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism."

What the Soviet leaders, who formerly castigated Titoism as an attempt to restore capitalism in Eastern Europe, have done, obviously, is to take at face value Yugoslav professions of loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and dedication to socialism. They have said, in effect (**NYT**, 5/29), that Tito, "if he really considered himself a Communist, must reconcile himself with the international communist movement." Thus placed on something of a spot, the Yugoslav leaders reportedly "put on their unhappiest faces." In Washington State Dept. officials were reported "apprehensive" despite repeated Yugoslav assurances. **Newsweek** explained that the chief reason for the West's concern

> ". . . was the fact that in recent months an anti-western faction in Tito's entourage has been steadily gaining in strength. As the Russians grow more reasonable, voices which claim that Yugoslavia's future is linked with the Soviet Union grew louder."

"INTERNAL POLITICS": A similar view was reported from Bonn by David Lawrence who said (**NYT**, 5/17) that "due to internal politics Tito has found himself compelled to accept the friendly gestures of the Soviets." A suggestion of what these "internal politics" might be was contained in a letter to the **NYT** (5/25) from Juraj Krnjevic, former Yugoslav vice premier and Croatian Peasant Party Secy. General, now in London. Allowing for probable exaggeration, there would still appear to be a measure of truth in his report that

Herblock in Washington Post
"LITTLE-FOUR MEETING"

> ". . . the Yugoslav Communists are sharply divided among themselves regarding the U. S. S. R. The rank and file are 100% pro-Russian as are also a considerable number in higher party positions. . . . Tito's following in his anti-Moscow attitude since 1948 has been confined nearly exclusively to the higher ranks of the party hierarchy, particularly to the top men who compromised themselves as anti-Russian in the days of open conflict. . . . They are wielding power but their numbers are insignificant in comparison with the rest of the party. . . . [The Soviet visit is intended] to encourage the pro-Russian elements who have been recently more and more clamorous and who are largely responsible for the new policy of rapprochement with the U. S. S. R. and its satellites."

YUGOSLAV AIMS: Another factor impelling Belgrade to seek a settlement with Moscow was, according to Yugoslav sources, "their country's desperate economic plight" (**NYT**, 5/25). Yugoslavia's average grain output in the six harvests, 1949-54, has been 25% below that of the five years 1934-39; it approached the pre-war level only in the best years (UN Economic Survey of Europe, 1954). In three drought years—**1950, 1952, 1954—the grain harvest fell short of the immediately preceding one by 35% to 45%.**

Since agricultural products are its major export, Yugoslavia's balance of payments and, consequently, its ability to trade have been seriously affected; its industry has been short of raw materials; consumer goods production has been low. Last winter, Yugoslav negotiations in Washington for economic aid reportedly almost broke up because its demands were so much bigger than Washington was prepared to grant. Yugoslavs regard the 1.3 million tons of wheat they finally got "as a stopgap instead of the creative support needed to put their economy on a paying basis" (**NYT**, 5/25).

SOVIET AIMS: Under these pressures, and the mounting setbacks suffered by Washington's "policy of strength," Tito did two things: (1) journeyed to the Far East where he sought to establish close relations with Asia's neutrals; (2) agreed to talks with Moscow. In the new developing world situation Yugoslavia, like Austria, is declining to serve as a possible western war base.

On the Soviet side, the aims are clear: (1) to prevent the final division of Europe into two hostile blocs (as envisaged in the Paris agreements) since such a division in the Soviet view means war; (2) to build, however slowly, the all-European collective security system long advocated by the U. S. S. R. The new Soviet approach, with its hint of greater tolerance towards "new roads to socialism," may be directed also to making it easier to create popular fronts in Western Europe and closer relations with countries, particularly in Asia, who say they hope to achieve socialism by a non-marxist route.

The Soviet "peace drive" is leading to western recognition that a reappraisal of its policy is necessary. But thus far the West was standing pat on its so-called "positions of strength," particularly as regards the chief issue, Germany. This is a policy of "reunification, if not actually by war, at least by the threat of war" (**London New Statesman**, 5/21). To stand fast on prior plans while the Russians adjust their policies to changing realities, said the **New Republic** (5/30), is **"to invite a substantial transfer of political support to the Soviet side."**

NOT MUCH HAS CHANGED

What the election means to the future of Britain

By Gordon Schaffer
Special to the GUARDIAN

LONDON

THE GENERAL ELECTION has left the pattern of British politics unchanged. The balance of forces has altered very little between the Conservative and Labour parties on the one hand, and between the progressives and reactionaries in the Labour Party on the other.

The situation is still dominated by the demand of the people for peace and by the search for a means to impose this demand on the coalition in foreign affairs between the government and the right-wing Labour leaders. As one went round the constituencies during the battle, it was clear that the apparent improvement in the international situation, and the promise of four-power talks, was (1) winning support for the Conservatives, and (2) preventing the majority of the electors from making any sharp differentiation between the left and the right Labour candidates.

INDEPENDENTS LOSE: The complete defeat of all candidates outside the two main parties—Communists, independent peace candidates and Sir Richard Acland, who resigned from the Labour Party to fight on the H-bomb issue—was an indication that the two-party machines will continue to control the situation for years ahead.

The electoral system—which means that a vote for an independent is virtually wasted—and the tornado of propaganda—which portrayed only a battle between the two main parties—inevitably meant that the electors voted for the party candidates almost irrespective of individuals.

There were, however, some indications that a minority of electors went into action with greater fervor in seats where progressives were standing.

Harold Wilson, the well-known Bevan supporter, might easily have lost his seat in the general trend of the country, but in fact he increased his majority. Ben Parkin, another opponent of official policy, held his majority in Paddington, London. His vote did not show the swing to the Tories of adjoining areas. In Willesden Labour right-winger Viant held his seat but with a largely decreased vote; Orbach, a left-winger, lost no votes to the Tories.

THE CHANGES: Thus the Labour Party in the House of Commons will certainly not be less critical than last time. Michael Foot, who lost his seat by a very narrow margin in a changed constitutency; Tom Driberg and John Freeman, who did not fight the election, and James Hudson, a veteran pacifist, are the main losses to the left. But they will be reinforced by Konni Zilliacus and a number of young M. P.'s like Frank Allaun of Manchester, who were put forward by progressive local labour parties.

Some of the ardent supporters of German re-armament—like Norman Smith and Ian Winterbottom of Nottingham—were defeated, and Woodrow Wyatt, another right winger, was refused re-nomination by his own constituency and failed to win in another seat.

So the fight that reached a crisis with the expulsion and readmission of Bevan will be taken up again in the new House. It will be fought too in the trade unions, the co-operatives and the local labour parties.

EDEN AND THE U. S.: Early in the new parliament the M. P.'s will debate foreign affairs. The big question is whether Eden can be pressed hard enough to take a constructive line at the coming four-power negotiations. So far there is no evidence that he will put one foot out of step with Mr. Dulles. Many times from the press gallery I watched him answering questions on foreign affairs.

IF LABOUR HAD CAMPAIGNED ON THE BIG ISSUES . . .
An election scene: Prime Minister Eden in a street talk

Always he gave the impression of a man who knows the right course but who has not the courage to take it. On one occasion he confessed, in almost as many words, that the U. S. policy on Formosa policy was wrong, but that he could not defy America.

Yet once he did stand firm. And as a result, at the Geneva conference, Mr. Dulles went home and a peaceful solution was found. On that occasion Eden and Churchill knew they would never secure support for British intervention in Indo-China.

Unfortunately the present situation is not so clear cut and public opinion is not yet in a position to exert its demands for constructive policies when the four powers meet.

COST OF LIVING: The Helsinki peace assembly, to which 40 delegates have already been elected, can be made a focal point to create this demand in the precious weeks before the four-power meeting.

The other big issue is the rising cost of living, the pressure by the trade unions for more wages and the ominous signs of a slow-down in a number of key industries on which Britain depends.

This Parliament will probably last four years and we shall probably find that these domestic issues will waken the working class and show them the relationship between their falling standard of living and the burdens of a cold war.

BUTSKELLISM: The **Economist,** journal of the City of London, told the brutal truth some months back when it invented the name Mr. Butskell to signify the common economic policy of Conservative Chancellor of the Exchequer Butler and Labour ex-Chancellor Gaitskell. In the middle of the election the **Sunday Observer,** most sober of right-wing newspapers, declares:

> "In the economic field, there is no longer a tremendous fundamental issue dividing the Labour and Conservative parties, as free trade versus protection (i.e. tariffs) once divided Whigs from Tories."

The election figures have shown that if only a small percentage of the working class understand the basic issues the swing can put the Tories out, as indeed they would have been put out had Labour fought on a progressive policy in home and international affairs.

To secure a Labour Party that will fight the next election on that program is the task ahead for the British people.

THERE WAS A VERDICT IN ADVANCE

7 Smith Act defendants found guilty in Denver despite top-flight counsel

THE GOVERNMENT's eleventh prosecution of Communist Party leaders under provisions of the Smith Act resulted in a guilty verdict May 25 against the Denver Seven. This brings the total number of convictions to 88 since the original Foley Square trial of the top U. S. Communist leadership in 1949.

The Denver defendants, arrested Aug. 1, 1954, included Arthur Bary, chairman of the Colorado Communist Party; his wife Anna Correa Bary; Joseph W. Scherrer and his wife Maia; Harold Zepelin, Lewis M. Johnson, Utah CP leader; and Mrs. Patricia J. Blau, acquitted in the so-called harboring case involving Smith Act refugee Robert Thompson in Los Angeles, then rearrested as a Colorado Communist leader.

The Denver defendants were represented by attorney Mary Kaufman of New York and a court-appointed panel of eleven top Denver attorneys. Two of them, Robert H. Harry and William A. Bryan III, argued, on a motion to quash the indictments, that the Brownell Communist Control Act of 1954 had made a fair trial under the Smith Act impossible, by providing a "guilty" verdict in advance.

"MISERABLE" CASE: At the start of the trial Mar. 21 William V. Hodges, dean of the Denver bar and for four years treasurer of the Republican Natl. Committee, characterized the indictments as a government attempt "to make a conspiracy out of a mass movement." The prosecution starred former N. Y. Communist official John Lautner, now an FBI stoolpigeon; and five witnesses planted in the CP by the FBI. All "overt" acts charged against the defendants were meetings; the defense ultimately demonstrated from FBI files that the informers contradicted their own original reports in testifying to alleged calls for violent overthrow of the government.

The defense rested its case May 22 without calling witnesses, on the contention that the government had presented a "miserable" case leaving "no need for the defense to put on a case." In a final appeal for acquittal, Bryan urged the jury to ignore "the voice of fear, the voice of hate, the voice of innuendo" and "the false prophets who ask you to join the witchhunt."

The jury deliberated eight hours, found all defendants "guilty as charged." During the trial it was announced that Mrs. Scherrer is expecting a child in October.

THE DENVER DEFENDANTS
Seated left to right: Mrs. Anna Correa Bary; Mrs. Patricia Blau; Mrs. Maia Scherrer. Standing: Arthur Bary, Louis Johnson, Harold Zepelin, Joseph Scherrer.

Cultural note

In West Germany dissident beer-hall customers can now silence juke boxes at a cost of twenty pfennigs for every three minutes. This amenity was disclosed recently at Nuremberg at the Bavarian Hotel and Restauranteurs Exhibition. The invention, if widely adopted, will eliminate the necessity for a customer who seeks respite from a juke box repertory to plead with the host to pull the plug out of the wall. Instead he will simply have to drop two ten-pfennig pieces into the slot and push the lever that reads "three minutes' pause." This causes the mechanism to select a "silent record" from among the noisy ones, place it on the turntable, lower the needle on to it, and set it spinning. The "silent" record has grooves like those in everyday use, but these grooves do not produce any sounds.

—Manchester Guardian Weekly, 5/5/55.

Two strikes won

(Continued from Page 3)

$13,000,000,000 Bell system."

"Workers fought for the simple protection most of us think we automatically have as citizens of the U. S. The Bell system sought to take away that protection."

Smallwood spoke up again in Atlanta:

"We are well pleased. After ten months of negotiations and a 72-day strike, we have achieved a ringing victory for union principles of telephone men and women here and over the nation. This could never have been possible without the unswerving loyalty and determination of each and every member of the union in the South who gave the utmost in sacrifice and devotion to principle."

As the battle ended, striker Cecil Bragg still lay in critical condition in a hospital in Pensacola, Fla. He had been shot by armed company strikebreaker William Harold Slaughter on May 10 in front of the city's main exchange.

L & N PAYS ALL: The rail strike involved 25,000 workers in 13 southern states. The Louisville & Nashville Railroad was the country's only major road that refused to grant a health-and-welfare plan paid for equally by company and employes; negotiations on the issue dragged for two years. When the strike ended the workers had their health and welfare plan—paid for **entirely** by the company. Arbitrator Francis Robertson, who was finally appointed to settle the strike with a binding decision, made a notable ruling: he argued that since the L&N had made it a matter of high principle that it was unjust to compel a worker to contribute to a health-and-welfare plan, the objection would be totally eliminated by having the company pay the full cost.

In addition, the unions won improvements in holiday, vacation and overtime clauses. Said C. O. Griffith, chairman of the strike committee:

"We are highly pleased with the settlement. We consider it a major victory in our efforts to secure benefits and working conditions we believe we are entitled to."

MORE MARTYRS: But as in the phone strike, there was a grim aftermath. A committee of the involved unions met in Kansas City, Mo., to set up a trust fund for the widow and orphaned 12-year-old daughter of striker Charles E. Wright. In the last week of the strike he had been shot in the back of the head by an armed strikebreaker. Said a union spokesman:

"Charles Wright will go down as a martyr to the cause for which we fought in this strike."

The cause was won, but the dead and the wounded were a high price to pay for teaching stubborn southern employers that they can't break unions in 1955.

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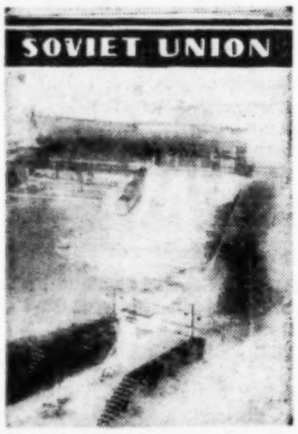

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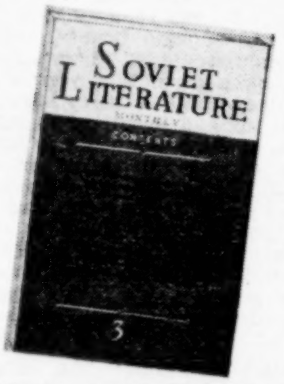

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BELZONI TURNS THE CLOCK BACK

Lynch law rides again in Mississippi

By Elmer Bendiner

ON THE week-end of May 7 the all-Negro town of Mound Bayou, Miss., saw its largest crowd since Booker T. Washington blew a whistle at the opening of an oil plant there in 1909. Some 12,000 Negro men and women flocked in on mule-back, in wagons, trucks and trains; a few dignitaries came by plane. They came together to celebrate the Supreme Court's desegregation decision at the fourth annual meeting of the Mississippi Regional Conference, an organization of Negro leaders in all fields.

Guest speaker in the big tent was Rep. Charles C. Diggs Jr., (D-Mich.) who told the delegates he had reported to President Eisenhower that he felt certain

> ". . . the appearance of federal investigators in Mississippi will put a stop to Southern fear tactics and show that the government means business."

Conference president Dr. T. R. M. Howard pointed to the mounting anti-Negro boycotts by the new white Citizens Councils and warned:

> "When it is realized that the economic pressure has been a flop, the next round will be a well-organized wave of violence."

THREE SHOTS: That next round opened before the week-end conference adjourned. At 11:30 p.m. Saturday night, May 7, in Belzoni, Miss., 45 miles from Mound Bayou, Rev. G. W. Lee was driving home from a meeting. A convertible containing several men drew alongside his car. Three shots from the convertible tore his face apart; his car crashed into a house. The convertible sped on.

Negroes outnumber whites two to one in Belzoni (pop. 4,071) and throughout Humphreys County, but few Negroes have voted there since Reconstruction days. This year 400 Negroes (out of 18,000 in the county) paid their poll tax and registered to vote. A Belzoni Citizens Council was formed. The list of 400 was passed out to white businessmen and an economic siege was laid down. Grocer Gus Coates was a typical victim; wholesalers refused to deliver goods to his shop. He went out of business. When a Negro worker paid his poll tax, his boss frequently demanded he tear up the receipt or be fired.

FROM 400 TO 91: The terror mounted. At night cars raced through the Negro sections of Belzoni volleying

Journal & Guide, Norfolk

Our two-party system, southern style

rocks, bricks, pop bottles through house windows and car windshields. Some Negroes retreated, tore up their poll tax receipts. From 400 qualified Negro voters the list dropped to 91.

Rev. Lee had been among the first in the county to qualify for the vote and he had persuaded others to join him. On the day he died he told a fellow Negro minister that "someone at the Court House" had warned him to withdraw his name. As he had answered similar threats before, he told that "someone" he intended to vote.

That night police found him dying in his car. A coroner's jury at first called it an auto accident, but after the press reported the shooting, the jurors found bits of metal around the pastor's face "similar in weight and composition to No. 3 buckshot."

A PUZZLED SHERIFF: When the case was referred to Sheriff Ike Shelton he called it "one of the most puzzling cases" of his career. He immediately announced that the murderer was probably a Negro and that several Negroes were being questioned.

Miss Ozelia White, a Negro substitute school teacher, had seen the shooting, could describe the convertible. Roy Wilkins, NAACP exec. secy., reported that Miss White had been ordered out of town and could not be located. Asked to comment on her disappearance, Sheriff Shelton said: "What witness? We know of no witness disappearing."

The NAACP turned up another witness, Alex Hudson, who was sitting with a friend on a front porch nearby when the convertible opened fire on Rev. Lee. Hudson was found in East St. Louis, Ill. He showed NAACP officials a letter of recommendation from his Belzoni employer, certifying that he had to leave Mississippi "due to circumstances beyond his and our control." NAACP lawyers accompanied Hudson to the FBI to whom he told his story.

THEY'RE NOT LEAVING: Belzoni rallied against the new-style lynching. On May 22 400 Negroes gathered in the Elk's Rest at a meeting called by the Mississippi NAACP. Wilkins told the meeting that the Citizens Councils were fighting primarily against Negro suffrage and that even the desegregated-schools issue was secondary to the ballot box. He said they were trying to

> ". . . turn back the clock, but . . . we expect to stay in Mississippi for the duration—until victory is won."

Other NAACP officials prodded the FBI which announced two weeks after the murder that it was investigating to see if a federal statute had been violated. The Washington NAACP pressed charges of electoral intimidation before the Senate Rules Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections and the New York branch called for wide protests. It demanded that the Dept. of Justice probe the terror raging throughout Mississippi, where only 25% of those qualified to vote (white and Negro) ever cast their ballots.

THE WOMEN VOTE: The Citizens' Councils of Mississippi came under fire —not only from the Negroes—but from the "white womanhood" they allegedly protect. Meeting in Jackson early last month the Women's Society of the Christian Service of the Mississippi Methodist Conference branded the councils "the spirit of the Ku Klux Klan dressed in high silk hats and long tails." The women adopted by a vote of 129-62, a charter banning jimcrow in the organization's work and declaring:

> "Where law prohibits or custom prevents the immediate achievement of these objectives, workers and local boards are charged with the responsibility of creating a public opinion which may result in changing such laws and customs."

McCALL AGAIN: Elsewhere in the South, terror was in official hands. On May 19 Sheriff Willis McCall walked up to a Negro, Thomas McKenzie, on a street corner in Mt. Dora, Fla., and shot him in the leg. McKenzie, with no charges against him, is recovering in the Lakes County Medical Center. In Nov., 1951, Sheriff McCall shot two handcuffed Negro prisoners, killing Samuel Shepherd, critically wounding Walter Lee Irvin. Irvin is now under a death sentence on a rape charge, growing out of the "little Scottsboro" frameup in Groveland.

McCall's defense in the Shepherd-Irvin shooting was that the manacled prisoners were trying to escape. Police explained McCall's latest shooting by saying that McKenzie was holding a gun in his hand "not pointing it at anybody, but he wouldn't give it up."

THE FIKES CASE: Another Negro waited for electrocution in Montgomery, Ala. In the spring of 1953 Earl Fikes, service station attendant of Selma, Ala., was charged with raping the wife of a white Air Force man stationed at nearby Craig Feld. During the trial 20 white witnesses testified that Fikes was out of town at the time of the alleged rape. The jury, in view of the "reasonable doubt," refrained from the customary death sentence for a Negro on rape charges and gave Fikes a 99-year jail sentence. Sheriff W. C. McCain then announced that after a nine-hour grilling Fikes had "confessed" to a burglary in the home of Mrs. Jean Rockwell, daughter of Selma's mayor.

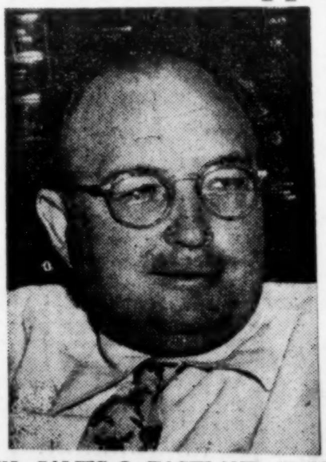
The tape-recorded "confession," according to the Selma **Times-Journal**, was an "almost verbatim account of Mrs. Rockwell's earlier testimony." Fikes was sentenced to die. The Alabama Supreme Court on May 22 upheld the death penalty for Fikes and set July 1 for the execution. Only a U. S. Supreme Court review or a governor's pardon can save him.

BUTLER'S TOUR: Wooing the South, terror and all, last week was Democratic Natl. Chairman Paul M. Butler, who started a five-day southern swing to organize "precinct level" vote getting. Belzoni was not on his itinerary.

ROY WILKINS

There for the duration

The Gentleman from Mississippi



SEN. JAMES O. EASTLAND (D-Miss.) last week called for a Senate investigation of the Supreme Court's desegregation-of-the-schools decision. He traced the ruling to the influence of "Communist-front groups" and said it was "based solely and alone on psychological, sociological and anthropological considerations," not on law.

AUTHOR BARRED

Wm. Reuben sues to enter Canada

WILLIAM A. REUBEN, author of **The Atom Spy Hoax**, who covered the Trenton Six and the Rosenberg cases for the GUARDIAN, last week filed suit in the Supreme Court of British Columbia against a deportation order barring him from Canada.

On April 10 Reuben landed by plane in Vancouver to speak in behalf of the Vancouver Sobell Committee. Canadian immigration authorities questioned him, refused to allow him to talk with the people who had come to meet him, to telephone the U. S. Consulate or arrange for legal counsel. While Reuben was being questioned he noticed an order for his deportation, already half-made out, lying on a desk.

The immigration inspector professed no knowledge of the Sobell committee or the Sobell case, asked Reuben whether he was then or ever had been a member of the Communist Party. Reuben said he was not a member, asked under what Canadian law the inspector could inquire into past political beliefs.

SENT BACK TO U. S.: The "hearing" lasted less than five minutes. Still incommunicado, Reuben was taken to a cell in the Immigration Building and put aboard the next plane to the U. S.

The motion filed last week charges that the "hearing" violated the "fundamental principles of natural justice" because Reuben was denied counsel, not informed as to his rights or the requirements under Canada's "Immigration Act." It also contends that no evidence was produced to show that Reuben comes under the "Prohibited Classes" clause of the act.

The Atom Spy Hoax, which Reuben wrote and published, charges that Canada's "spy" trials of 1946 were a principal factor in launching the cold war and have been a key factor in fostering East-West tensions ever since. Reuben charges that the Canadian trials were a hoax.

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NATHAN vs. DULLES

Angry court says it will order passport for Einstein executor

FOR MORE THAN two years Prof. Otto Nathan, executor of the estate of Albert Einstein, has been trying to obtain a passport. Last winter he filed suit to compel the State Dept. to issue him one (GUARDIAN, 11/1/54). Ten weeks ago Federal Judge Henry A. Schweinhaut denied a government plea of dismissal, ruled that Prof. Nathan "did not have a hearing" provided by law and ordered that one be held.

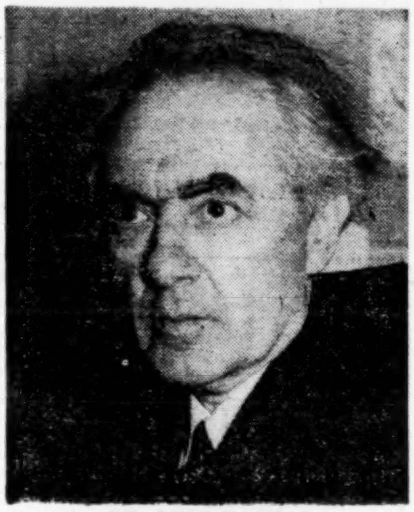
State Dept. stalling brought on a new Nathan action calling

> ". . . for an order adjudging the defendant [John Foster Dulles] and his agents in contempt for violation of this Court's order of March 15, 1955, and for appropriate remedial relief including an order that the defendant issue a passport forthwith to the plaintiff. . . ."

Last week Judge Schweinhaut, finding that the State Dept. had not given Prof. Nathan either an appropriate or a prompt hearing, declared:

> "I am quite dissatisfied with the fact that an order of a U.S. court has not been obeyed. I have not heard any excuse for not obeying it. I will sign an order directing that a passport be issued."

Prof. Nathan's Washington attorney



DR. OTTO NATHAN
He has a public duty

Joseph Forer said this would be the first court order for the State Dept. to issue a passport.

DUTY TO HUMANITY: In an affidavit in support of his motion, Prof. Nathan argued that as executor of the Einstein estate he must go to Europe at once to help assemble and preserve important scientific manuscripts and documents. Saying he was particularly anxious to attend the Jubilee of Relativity Theory to be held at Berne, Switzerland, July 11-16, to which Prof. Einstein had been invited, Prof. Nathan declared:

> "The responsibility placed upon me by Prof. Einstein's last will have not only created duties toward a rare human being whose great contributions to mankind's store of knowledge are not contested, but also a public duty toward humanity to find the most suitable method of making Prof. Einstein's work available to the scientific world to allow them to carry on where he left off. Accordingly, my trip to Europe is no longer merely a private undertaking, but would serve interests of a general and much wider scope.
>
> "I believe, therefore, that the continued withholding of a passport by the Department of State would tend to harm the public interest. . . . The Department of State should be ordered to issue a passport to me without any further delay."

CONTRADICTIONS: Another case pending before the court is that of Dr. Clark H. Foreman, whose passport was taken from him on Sept. 20, 1951, and was never returned, and whose application for a new passport in 1953 was rejected. Dr. Foreman's suit calls for a ruling that the State Dept.'s actions violated his rights under the Passport Act of 1926, the U.S. Constitution and the Declaration of Human Rights and asks that the Department be directed to issue him a passport.

In contrast, the State Dept. on May 20 validated the passports of Prof. Owen Lattimore and his wife, permitting him to fulfill lecture engagements abroad. The Justice Dept. is currently appealing federal court dismissal of indictments against Prof. Lattimore. The State Dept. said the passport grant "is not to be construed in any way as prejudging the issues in Lattimore's perjury case."

RIGHTS FOR ALL BUT . . .: As the GUARDIAN pointed out last year, every American citizen's right to a passport as a means of identification and to travel abroad as he might from New York to Chicago still remains to be vindicated.

Meanwhile, the American Civil Liberties Union declared its intention to file four test cases next week involving non-Communists and "proven anti-Communists" who have been denied passports. In a letter to Security and Consular Affairs Bureau Administrator R. W. Scott McLeod, ACLU officials Patrick Murphy Malin and Ernest Angell said their purpose was

> ". . . in no sense to advocate the granting of passports to American Communists, but to urge that the protection of the process to which all American citizens are entitled be given by the Department in place of the present arbitrary determination as to who shall be allowed to travel abroad."

HE WASN'T A MEMBER — JUST AFFILIATED

Bryson found guilty in T-H oath case

SAN FRANCISCO
Special to the GUARDIAN

IN ONE OF the most fantastic verdicts of these Smith Act days, a federal jury here found Hugh Bryson, former president of the Natl. Union of Marine Cooks & Stewards, **not** guilty of membership in the Communist Party when he signed his Taft-Hartley affidavit in 1951—but guilty of **affiliation** with that party.

The word is the key to the case, and the verdict was practically dictated by Judge William C. Mathes of Los Angeles. The judge's definition of affiliation—by illustration—was a case in which "a man and woman live together without being married."

That the jury was still confused about the term was apparent a couple of hours after they retired, when they asked for a copy of Webster's Dictionary, and the foreman said the jury was "having trouble" with the word. Mathes refused to give them a dictionary and said they would have to be bound by his definition.

BAIL CONTINUED: The jury therefore compromised—the government had introduced no evidence (even of the stoolpigeon variety) that Bryson was a Communist in 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951 or since—and found him innocent of falsifying the first part of the affidavit (membership) but guilty of falsifying the second (affiliation).

The judge's permission for Bryson to remain free in his original bail of $10,000, and asking for a probation report, would seem to indicate that he himself feels the verdict is not likely to stand.

The term "affiliation," defense attorney George Andersen pointed out to reporters, "has no relation to any concept in criminal law. How can anyone defend himself against such a vague charge?"

Sentence is set for June 8, at which time defense lawyers Andersen and Gladstein will make motions for acquittal on the second count, stay of judgment, and contend that the verdict is not sustained by the evidence.

GUILT BY CONTACT: The judge practically dictated the verdict by telling the jury that it could find Bryson guilty on the second count if it found that he had associated in meetings with people who were Communists.

This, attorney Andersen pointed out, is "a clear violation of the First Amendment, which permits any American to associate with anyone, so long as he is not engaged in committing a crime."

On summation Gladstein and Andersen demolished every one of the government's witnesses, by pointing to discrepancies in their testimony here (and in other cases), flat contradictions between their testimony and facts established by documents, and the obvious fact that most of them were vocal in their hatred of Bryson and in the pay of rival unions (AFL or CIO) bent on destroying Bryson's union.

HUGH BRYSON
He wasn't married to the CP

CATLIN LAW KICKS UP A STORM

Wisconsin labor declares war on backers of law to keep unions out of politics

BITTER political battles were boiling up in Wisconsin last week after Gov. Walter Kohler signed the Catlin bill which prohibits unions from contributing to political campaigns. Labor leaders announced they would (1) mount a drive to repeal the measure; (2) defy the law to test its constitutionality, and (3) take it all the way to the Supreme Court if necessary. They will also work for the defeat of every legislator who voted for it.

State Democrats were just as mad and saw the law as a body blow aimed at them. Senate minority floor leader Henry Maier estimated that the new law will deprive his party of 40% of its financial support. An official Democratic statement called Kohler's approval of the bill an

> ". . . unvarnished, ruthless, partisan assault on organized labor [providing] additional proof that he is the most docile and least independent governor in decades."

POWER AND PUSILLANIMITY: State CIO counsel Max Raskin said the measure became law "because of the actions of a power-mad legislature and a pusillanimous governor." Unionists were particularly irked at Kohler's statement that the bill "actually restores rights to individual union members, rather than depriving them of political rights," and that "under present laws, the regular, ordinary dues of union members can be expended for political purposes." Leaders offered to allow their books to be examined to prove that dues are never used in campaigns.

Democrats were annoyed that the new ban on unions was compared with a similar ban on corporations and announced the results of some research on that subject:

> "We can now reveal striking new evidence of the grip of corporate wealth on the Republican Party. Here are the up-to-the-minute statistics: A total of $130,000 has been identified as coming from the pockets of corporation executives to the Republican Voluntary Committee. In addition it was found that Wisconsin corporation officials donated at least $8,450 to the Republican Natl. Comm., $4,125 to the campaign of Charles Kersten in Milwaukee, and $3,825 to the Kenosha Republican Club.
>
> "This brings the grand total of $157,250 that has been found to have been dumped into Republican coffers through the generosity of Wisconsin's corporate wealth."

KARL MUNDT
It's for their own good

MUNDT LOOKS AHEAD: The Madison **Capital Times** commented that the governor has signed a measure "that will make his name anathema in every labor hall in Wisconsin" and predicted a "major invasion of the Republican primary" if Kohler runs next year against Sen. Alexander Wiley.

A bill similar to the Catlin law passed the Michigan Senate by 19 to 10 but was killed in the House; in Ohio the Kile bill was still being actively pushed.

By last week the threat of political gag laws became national. Speaking to a club of Republican women, Sen. Karl E. Mundt (R-S.D.) invited Southern Democrats to join with Republicans in support of federal legislation modelled after the Catlin law. He told the ladies:

> "With the sly approval and secret urging of certain national Democratic officials, the recent [sic] merger of the AFL and CIO labor organizations is being employed to expand the un-American practice of forcing union members to pay out portions of their hard-earned dollars for the use of big labor bosses in the selection of New Deal and left-wing Democrats in state and national campaigns."

PRESBYTERIAN ASSEMBLY ACTS

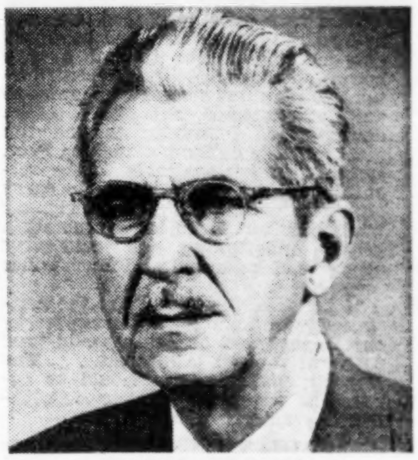
Claude Williams loses last appeal on church ouster

By James Aronson

REV. CLAUDE WILLIAMS, unfrocked more than a year ago by the Detroit Presbytery on two charges of heresy, last week lost his final appeal before the 167th General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Los Angeles. The southern preacher (he lives and works in Alabama) was dismissed first in February, 1954, in a decision which was upheld by the Michigan Synod last November. These were the charges:

"The accused holds doctrinal views which are contrary to the Holy Scriptures and to the creed confessed in this church. [He] is charged with a studied and determined effort to subvert and corrupt the Christian faith of this church, by preaching and promulgating the heretical doctrine which he preaches and falsely representing the Protestant Christian movement."

On their face the heresy charges involved Williams' views on the Trinity and the virgin birth of Jesus; he refers to the Nazarene always as the Son of Man and not the Son of God. Actually the charges involve the whole scope of Williams' interpretation of the Scriptures and his application of them as social doctrine designed to improve the lot of the poor.



CLAUDE WILLIAMS
Theology does not come first

"TURBULENT PRIEST": A third charge of Communist Party membership was thrown out by the Detroit Presbytery. Williams protested; he insisted on being cleared of all three charges.

Known throughout the world as one of the "turbulent priests" of modern times, Williams' story was told in Cedric Belfrage's **A Faith to Free the People,** translated in many languages. It is the story of a man who was beaten, jailed, hounded and fired from churches for persisting in interpreting his religion as an obligation to side with the poor. He told the Michigan Synod last fall:

"I was fired from my pastorate in Paris, Ark., in 1934 for preaching under the Hoover Administration things which became popular under Roosevelt's; hired in 1942 by the Presbytery of Detroit to preach there the same things I was fired for preaching ten years before."

Now, he said, he was being fired for "heresies" which the Presbytery had approved during the war years. He added:

"It is the church which has been changing with the complexion of the times. I have stayed pretty well the same."

THEOLOGY IS SECOND: He was defended before the Synod by Rev. Paul J. Allured, a retired Presbyterian minister (church law requires counsel to be an ordained minister). Royal W. France also went to Detroit but was not allowed in the hearing room despite Dr. Allured's poor health (he collapsed after the hearing). Dr. Allured told the 13 ministers and "ruling elders":

". . . the theology of Christianity must not be put first—it is the **doing** of the 'Word' that counts. Claude Williams is putting his critics to shame—as he follows his Master going about 'doing good' as Jesus did. . . . The whole theology contained in his ministry of 'Applied Religion' has only Christ-like goodness as its objective. . . . He fights religious beliefs that have been proven false by their resulting evils of hypocrisy, racism, exploitation, social injustice, general indifference to human needs. . . ."

When the verdict was returned against him last fall Williams said:

"I have lost everything but my soul, and I'll be damned if I lose that at this stage of life. . . ."

A HUSHED HALL: In that mood he went to Los Angeles last week on money raised by followers in all parts of the country. The time was ill-spared from his farm which he works with his wife Joyce, a devoted fellow-worker in applied religion. He was hard at work too on a new front: orienting the religious South toward making a reality of the integration of white and Negro children in the schools "which will not be obtained merely by a Supreme Court ruling against segregation."

The N.Y. **Times** reported the scene at the Los Angeles Assembly:

"The Permanent Judicial Commission reported its decision to a hushed and solemn gathering. Only delegates, or commissioners, were permitted on the floor. All doors were sealed to prevent movement in or out of the auditorium . . . while the decision was announced."

After the verdict Williams said:

"I have no sense of being nude because I have been unfrocked. . . . I will continue to work for desegregation, democracy and brotherhood."

After the solemnities were over Williams went back to Alabama (Rt. 1, Box 268, Helena, Ala.). It has been many years since he has worn the ornaments of the church; but there was no question that he would keep going about "doing good" as did the Son of Man.

A lighted candle

THE **Churchman,** edited by Guy Emery Shipler, commenting on the Williams case (May 15) said:

"We had supposed that in such a communion as that of our Presbyterian friends, the tragic days of heresy trials and convictions were past. They have placed Claude Williams in the long line of victims such as the great Jan Hus and Giordano Bruno, burned at the stake in the 15th and 16th centuries respectively; Bishop Hugh Latimer and Bishop Nicholas Ridley, burned at the stake by the Church of England in the 16th century. . . .

"As the torch was being applied for the burning of Latimer and Ridley outside Baliol College, Oxford, Latimer spoke these famous words: 'Be of good cheer, Master Ridley, and play the man. We shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out.'"

What they said

WHEN **A Faith to Free the People** appeared in 1944 it was acclaimed by the critics in these terms:

N.Y. Herald Tribune: "Claude Williams is one of the spiritual heroes of America today."

Chicago Tribune: "Stirring, invigorating, thought provoking."

Jewish Post: "A biography which I would put in the hands of every American boy and girl. . . ."

Friends' Intelligencer: "A very important book . . . it contains the basic answers to the problems of this troubled world."

And from another source:

Gerald L. K. Smith: "If the Presbyterian Church is planning to underwrite Communism in Detroit without a blush, the time has come for the citizenry of this great city to know it."

Minneapolis Star

THE COUNTRY PARSON

"If a man would give his soul the same attention he gives his teeth, his soul might not decay either."

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'THE ROLE OF THE ALP'

"The Struggle for Peace and the Problems of Creating a Mass hird Party Movement"

By Peter K. Hawley

State Chairman, American Labor Party

The following report has been adopted as a policy statement by the ALP State Executive Committee. It is reprinted herewith as a service to the many ALP members among the GUARDIAN's New York readers.

SINCE THE 1954 ELECTIONS, members and friends of the ALP have been asking a number of basic questions. What is the role of the ALP? What are our electoral perspectives, and what should our relation be to any future mass third party movement? The purpose of this report is to clarify these problems so that a clear path for our work can be charted.

STATE SITUATION: In our own state we find that the defeat handed the Republicans at the last election, plus the people's continued pressure during the state legislative session, resulted in some modest gains and in the blocking of many pernicious measures. Unemployment insurance was somewhat liberalized, the all-out landlord-Republican drive to scuttle rent control was partially defeated, and anti-civil liberties measures were killed. That the Democratic Party leadership was something less than vigorous in its espousal of the people's needs, is a reflection of the as yet inadequate pressure from the grass roots.

NATIONAL SCENE: On the national scene we find a lessening of hysteria—a growing boldness in speaking out against the war makers and the McCarthyites. Of course the repression is still with us, but the rift is opening and the resistance being offered is growing deeper and wider.

THE CENTRAL ISSUE here, as everywhere in the world, is peace! To us of the ALP the problem is the full mobilization in this all-embracing peace effort.

The giant of labor, too, is beginning to stir. Labor's impending organic unity, its legislative support for the demands of the farmers, its militant strike activities, its fight against the phoney states "right to work" laws, and for a $1.25 minimum wage, are all portents of its role in the destiny of our nation.

A powerful voice in the chorus for peace is the voice of the Negro people in defense of their inalienable right to equality. Their present great struggle to end discrimination in education—an issue of stupendous importance, second only perhaps to the earlier fight to end slavery—their persistent and increasingly effective struggle for representation, is worthy of stauncher allies than have as yet rallied to their banner.

INTERNATIONAL SITUATION: On the international front we find a rapid realignment of forces. The recently concluded Bandoeng Conference marks another giant stride in the doom of colonialism. The Austro-Soviet treaty has resulted in agreement for a 4-power conference. The universal demand for peace has been so vigorous that it has forced a tactical about face change in policy by the Administration on Quemoy-Matsu, and on the need for meeting with the Chinese leaders on the problems of Formosa and the relaxation of tension in the Far East.

Future Role of ALP

Where do we of the ALP stand in relation to this dynamic scene? Do we have a contribution to make to unity, to peace, to the ultimate creation of a true people's party? The answer is a ringing yes! The ALP has a specific, positive and, yes, essential role to play. Our impact as a political entity, as a community force, must be felt NOW among the people—NOW, before the 1956 elections, for peace or war do not wait upon election dates! Here are the reasons for this conclusion:

FIRST: The ALP alone has a sound and coherent program designed to meet these needs. Whereas the Democratic Party purports to favor the people, there is no indication that it has broken basically with the cold and hot war policies of the Republicans.

Nevertheless, it is the current repository of the votes of millions of workers. Unless the Democratic Party shows in deeds that it is worthy of these votes, by adopting policies different from those of the GOP, it will lose these votes, and this is part of the process of the shaping political realignment. So, on the issues of peaceful coexistence, of civil rights, of Negro rights and representation—of a sound program—the clear voice of the ALP, as an organized entity, **before elections,** and in relation to the elections, is indispensable.

SECOND: The ALP, through the electoral issues we advance, the struggles we initiate, the unity we foster, can have, as we have had in the past, an appreciable influence on the policies, candidacies and activities of Republican and Democratic candidates. Our work as a "pressure group" in this area can be most useful in advancing the cause of peace and progress.

Question of a Third Party

What about our electoral role and perspective? Before presenting our views on this complex question, it would be desirable first to briefly consider the views expressed by John T. McManus, our 1954 gubernatorial candidate, as contained in a leading article in the NATIONAL GUARDIAN of January 10, 1955. While we differ emphatically with the conclusions and proposals presented by the GUARDIAN, it should be noted that the disagreement is that of friends—of progressives—of those who hold the same basic attitude toward the people's welfare.

What does this article advocate? Basically it calls for the immediate preparation for and convocation of a caucus to be held not later than September 1955, with a view to starting the fight for independent ballot status in every state, in the 1956 presidential campaign.

Presumably, this party would put forth a peace ticket. Presumably, the urgent need for its creation, in the minds of its proponents, is dictated by the fact that we "cannot wait for or expect mass breakaways from presently organized groups such as the labor movement or the Democratic Party. . . ." Furthermore, the article holds that progressives cannot function effectively as a non-ballot group within the 2-party system, and that the newly-to-be organized independent party must understand "the reality of socialism," and "not rule out its application in confronting domestic problems as well as world relations."

Implicit in McManus' proposal is the idea that the only useful electoral role that the ALP can play is to take part in the formation of such a peace party, and that its only alternative is to wind up as the tail to the Democratic Party's donkey. Neither of these alternatives is grounded in sound political planning. The ALP need not dissipate its forces in a fruitless search for quick solutions or become a tail to any other party. What, therefore, is the situation with regard to a mass, independent third party? Is there likely to be such a labor-based party in the 1956 elections? We do not believe so. The conditions for it have not as yet materialized.

We believe therefore, that a convocation such as has been proposd for the formation of a new party would be futile at this time, since it would lack the participation of labor and other mass elements essential to the building of such a party. Nevertheless, it is possible that such a movement could materialize, if there were a rapid change in our economy or in the peace situation. But it could only arise from powerful currents in the labor movement, of the Negro people, the farmers, etc.

Are there likely to be movements in the direction of increased independent political activity, of the formation of local independent groups, of more independent candidacies, of stronger labor pressure within and without the Democratic and Republican parties? Unquestionably yes! As labor itself is unified, as the Negro people and other major groupings of the people are aroused, as the disastrous policy of German rearmament, refusal to negotiate, the brandishing of the H-bomb, alienate more and more people, the likelihood of the ultimate formation of a national labor-based peace and people's party will inevitably grow!

WE ARE HERE CONCERNED with the immediate future—with 1955 and 1956. It is our conviction that the main trend of electoral activity during the next 18 months will lie in the process of developing labor's independent role—in the process of increasing independent pressure within the existing political parties. What must be absolutely clear is that the fight for peace is by no means contingent on the formation now of a national third party ready to enter the political arena in 1956. On the contrary, the fight for peace is one which must be waged now—in the communities, among labor, in the major parties, in short, wherever the people are!

THE ALP AND A THIRD PARTY: Where does the ALP fit into this picture? Can we consider ourselves, as some have in the past, a nucleus for a mass third party? No—the nucleus will come from labor, the farmers and the Negro people's organizations. But we of the ALP can help to make this movement grow faster, and we can help it to adopt progressive policies. We can work in the communities and with various peoples organizations. We can help to educate and to unite people and to prepare them for the shaping political realignment and toward the mass third party movement. This, too, is an indispensable role which the ALP, as an organized body, can play.

Electoral Objectives

The ALP has a specific electoral role. This role certainly will remain essential until such future time as the American people have forged an effective instrument for the satisfaction of their wants. It is proposed that for 1955 the ALP set itself the following electoral objectives:

1. The nomination, by a major party or both parties, and the election, of a Negro to the Supreme Court of New York State. Failing that, the running of an independent candidate on our own line.
2. The raising of the demand for judicial representation, probably on the Municipal Court level, for the Puerto Rican people.
3. The demand for a woman on the Supreme Court bench.
4. In Queens, an additional important objective—the defeat of the arch-reactionary Quinn for D. A.
5. The fight for representation for the Negro people in Municipal elections, in such areas as Buffalo and other cities of the State.

This whole fight must be seen within the framework of the tremendous ferment of the Negro people in the struggle against segregation and Jimcrow in relation to the implementation of the Supreme Court Decision of 1954.

FOR 1956 our major electoral objective is to make peaceful coexistence a major issue in the campaign between parties and candidates. In the Fall of '55 it should be our goal to campaign for mass registration and enrollment by the voters of both parties, in order that they may be able to participate in the 1956 Spring primaries—so as to elect peace-oriented delegates to the presidential conventions. We will support peace-minded labor-backed candidates, Republican, Democratic or Independent, and we'll work for the defeat of reactionary candidates, regardless of ticket. It means running our own candidates or supporting the candidacy of an independent, where the major parties refuse to offer a meaningful choice.

As to our enrollees, who cannot continue to enroll ALP because of our loss of ballot status, it is not now possible to suggest a specific enrollment policy. However, whatever policy is subsequently worked out, it should serve to provide maximum leverage in the choice of candidates and program.

Growth of the ALP

Clearly, the objectives above outlined cannot be achieved unless we pay close attention, not only to the political understanding, but the community and electoral "know-how" of our members, and also to the state of our clubs, our membership, our former enrollees, our finances—in short, to our organizational health.

There is every reason to expect that if we work with discretion and inspiration, if we work arduously to foster our growth as a useful instrument of the people, our membership must grow, our influence must spread, our usefulness must increase. We should plan our work so that in addition to those groups already active, we invite the support and participation of labor, the Negro and Puerto Rican people, and the younger voters.

What more worthy goal can we seek than to help fashion a world at peace, from which war and the threat of atomic weapons are banished? As President Roosevelt said—"the work, my friends, is peace." Let us on to the work!

Petition

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

We welcome the forthcoming four-power conference "at the summit" as the greatest step toward peace in recent years.

We petition you, Mr. President, to let nothing stand in the way of reaching agreements at the conference:

- To Ban the A and H Bombs – the horror of mankind!
- To end the "cold war" and make possible an age of genuine peace in which the power of the atom is harnessed for health and abundance.

SIGNATURE	ADDRESS

PEACEMONGERS AT WORK

The American Labor Party is doorbell-ringing again, aiming at 50,000 signatures to a peace petition to reinforce what Chairman Peter Hawley calls the delicate "eggshell approach" of Pres. Eisenhower to Big Four negotiations. Petitions are available at all ALP clubs.

McManus' position

JOHN T. McMANUS, ALP gubernatorial candidate in 1950 and 1954 and a member of the State Executive Committee, did not concur in adoption of the report printed here. He proposed instead a policy of immediate organization in each Congressional District in the state for independent Congressional candidates in 1956 in the event that incumbents or proposed new candidates fail to declare satisfactorily for a program of peace, jobs and rights. He proposed that present ALP members be urged not to enroll in other parties in 1955, in order to preserve independent status for the initiation of independent candidacies in 1956; and that organization start now for regaining statewide ballot status in the gubernatorial election of 1958. The ALP failed by some 2,000 votes to obtain the 50,000 votes necessary to retain ballot status in the 1954 membership contest.

MORTON SOBELL'S DAUGHTER REMEMBERS

The day they took her Daddy away

Sydney Sobell is just turned 15. Her sharpest childhood memory is of a day when she was 10 and she watched her parents dragged from her, leaving her alone in Mexico City with her year-old brother. Sydney's father, Morton Sobell, is still in Alcatraz prison serving a 30-year term as the third victim in the case that took the lives of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. The Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell, which has called a rally in Carnegie Hall for June 16, last week released this story of Sydney Sobell as she wrote it five years after the event:

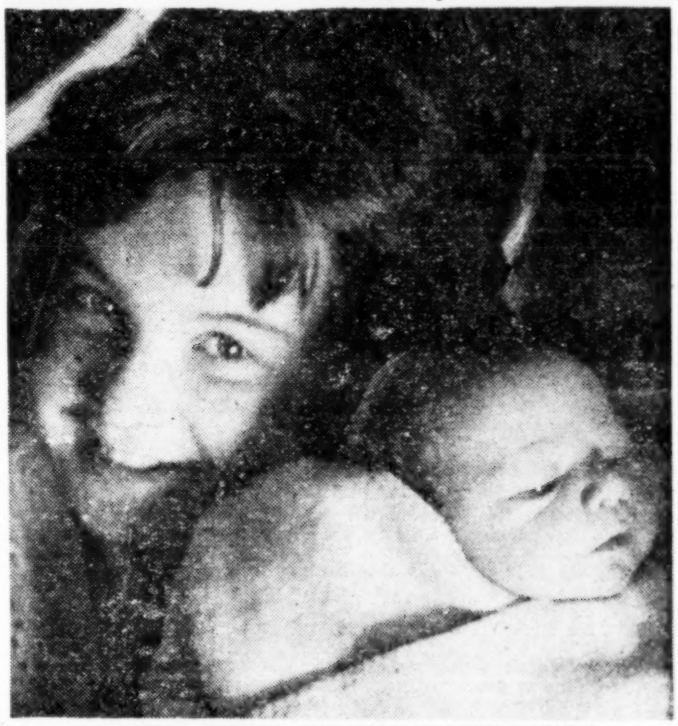
WE WERE in Mexico for our vacation. We had been there for about a month. It was Aug. 16, 8 p.m. We had gone to the park in the afternoon; there had been a storm and the lights had gone out in the house. We were having dinner by candlelight. Just as the lights finally came on, the doorbell rang. I went to the door and asked "Who is there?" in Spanish. I got a garbled answer, so I opened the door.

A gun was being pointed at me. There were five men. They came in and told my dad that they were from the police. They flashed some sort of a tin badge, and said they didn't need any warrants, they didn't have any warrants, and that he was Johnny Jones, and he was wanted for having stolen money in Acapulco. Of course we said this wasn't so, because it wasn't. Morty wasn't a thief, and he hadn't been to Acapulco. This whole business was ridiculous.

THEY SLUGGED HIM: After a while they said "You're coming with us," and we said that we certainly were not. They were not dressed in uniform, they hadn't shown us any identification. We didn't know whether they really were police. We didn't want to go, so they began slugging Morty, and they started to take him by force. They also hit my mother and just dragged her and my father off. I was left alone in the house with my little brother Mark, who was a year old.

I ran to the next door neighbors with whom we'd become acquainted, and told them what had happened. They had an apartment on three levels, and the top level was outdoors, like a porch or roof-top. They kept their chickens up there. I told them I'm going up to the roof, and don't tell them where I am. Don't tell the men because I'm scared. After a while they called, "Come on down, Sydney," and when I came down the men were there. They took me to a place which I found out later was the National Security Building, it must have been around 9 or 9:30. When I left, I had packed our things, bottles for the baby.

"HE LOOKED HORRIBLE": All during the trip I kept saying: "Don't touch the baby, don't touch the baby." I knew that there was something dirty about this, something that was vicious. When I got there, I was extremely frightened, because I hadn't seen my mother and dad, I didn't know what was happening, that they could hear me calling for them but that I couldn't hear them. They were there until about midnight, when my mother was alowed to come out and take care of us. She told them she wanted cots. She demanded them. She said "I have a right to get cots for my children," and we slept. About two o'clock we were awakened, and we went outside. When I first saw Morty—it was the first time since he'd been taken away—his glasses were broken, his face was cut, and he was all beat up. He looked horrible, and I was frightened of the whole thing. Morty was in a car, with three men with guns.



SYDNEY SOBELL AND HER BROTHER MARK
This photo was taken a year before Mexico

THE HEADLINES: My mother and I were put into a car with three men, the baby was with us. We drove from 2 a.m. on Aug. 17 to Aug. 18 about midnight, when we arrived in Laredo, Tex., where we saw the newspapers with the headlines: "New Red Atom Spy." Underneath was Morty's picture. We had heard of Julie and Ethel Rosenberg's arrest previous to that, and we had been very worried about the idea that people who Morty had known, people who couldn't be spies, who were good, decent, people, were implicated in something as impossible as this.

And now it had happened to us.

"Tribute to Truth" in Los Angeles

THE second annual "Tribute to Truth" in Los Angeles, commemorating the deaths of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg and carrying on the fight to free Morton Sobell from Alcatraz, will be held Fri. eve., June 17, at the Embassy Auditorium, Ninth and Grand.

Special guests will include Mrs. Rose Sobell, Morton's mother; Gale Sondergaard, Academy Award-winning actress; Dalton Trumbo, famous author and playwright.

Feature of the evening will be a choral-dramatic presentation. Tickets are on sale now (50c each) through the L. A. Sobell Committee. Tickets at the door will be 75c. Committee offices are at 468 North Western, L. A. 4; phone Hollywood 4-4725.

NEW YORK
CALENDAR

Listings in the Calendar and Classified section are available at 40c a line (five words): minimum charge $2 per insertion.

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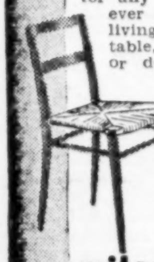

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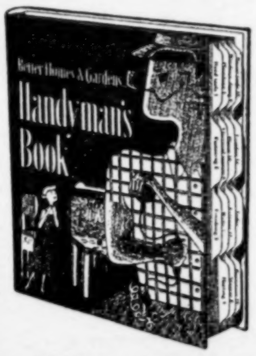

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Gifts for Father's Day — June 19

In this issue GBS offers a selection of items designed as Father's Day gifts.

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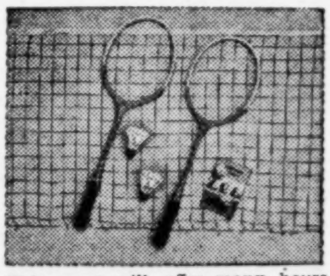

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the SPECTATOR

Come all ye young people

COME AND BRING A YOUNG PERSON—to hear Dr. Harry F. Ward. I was a young person, back in the days before the first World War, when I first heard Harry F. Ward. I recall as if it were yesterday how this great scholar and religious prophet pricked my immature mind and stirred my conscience. I was with hundreds of young men and women from the Midwestern states attending a student conference at Lake Geneva, Wis. Most, like myself, were going through the treadmill of higher education.

HARRY F. WARD

All the forces were at work then that were to bring on World Wars I and II, and the great social revolutions that are now a matter of record. Things seemed quiet on the surface, but Harry Ward looked underneath. He analyzed and described the contradictions in an economic order that bred poverty and unempolyment, an order in which powerful empires dominated weaker peoples, and ruthless groups amassed fortunes based on exploitation.

I am ashamed that I was such a moral laggard then. It took a summer, as late as 1934, among sharecroppers and miners in the South to make me truly conscious of the stark realities Dr. Ward described that long ago day.

Since then Dr. Ward has gone on to a record of achievement any part of which would be enough honor for one lifetime, but it all belongs to him. He has written books that secure him a place among scholars of this and other countries. He has had a brilliant career at Union Theological Seminary teaching young men preparing for the ministry. He was one of the founders of, and for 30 years was the general secretary of the Methodist Fedn. for Social Service, that much persecuted organization. For 20 years, from 1920 to 1940, he was chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union. In the 1930's he led millions of Americans in an organized effort—the American League Against War and Fascism—to stop fascism abroad and in our own country, and to prevent World War II.

ALONG THE WAY MANY YOUNG MEN like myself that June day before the first World War, and many young women have heard Harry F. Ward, and hearing him have known where they belonged.

Just the other day I was talking to one who had been in his classes at Union. "I am 'one of Dr. Ward's boys,'" he exclaimed proudly and then launched into a description of his ideal teacher's methods:

"His classes were always a co-operative quest. First he would set a framework for study of a particular economic or political question and its ramifications for religion and for us as ministers. Then in groups we would explore aspects of the problem. After that we came together, reported our thinking and our findings, and engaged in criticism and counter-criticism. Dr. Ward never told us what to think. We had to reach our own conclusions."

My friend went on to work with Dr. Ward in the American League against War and Fascism, now so maligned:

"He was successful in working with broad groups, including the Left, because he applied the same classroom methods. He always knew the facts and the issues. He always laid down precisely the conditions on which he would work and kept those conditions clear. He could enlist young leadership and delegate responsibility. Intellectuals working with him never lost their contact with the people who constitute the base for social change."

Others remember this good man for the work he did through the church, for he was largely responsible for formulating a statement of principles that remains the social creed of Protestantism in the U.S. Around him were grouped many of the religious pioneers of his own church—he was ordained a Methodist minister in 1898. In the Harry F. Ward of the Methodist Fedn. social injustice found its severest critic; the victims of discrimination, the oppressed and unemployed, and the homeless knew a friend; and the young minister who took risks for his conscience's sake found support.

NOW HARRY F. WARD IS NEARLY 82 YEARS OLD. Who would guess it? He has embarked on what may become the greatest campaign of the many he has led—his passionate defense of the Constitutional and religious liberties that once made our country a beacon light to the world, but are now sorely threatened.

He will speak Wed. eve., June 8, at 150 W. 85th St., under the auspices of the Religious Freedom Committee. The subject is of his own choosing—"Which Do You Want—the Bill of Rights or an American Police State?" How much of the Bill of Rights has already been destroyed? How much of a police state is already built, and how was it done? And what do we do now?

Come and bring a young person with you, says the announcement of that meeting. Come and bring many young people with you, to hear this great man.

Dr. Willard Uphaus